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# The American Observer

*A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe*

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1945

## Allies Face Serious Problems in Orient

Test of Ability to Cooperate Is Seen as Japan's Surrender Alters Power Balance

### TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS COMPLEX

United States, Russia, and Great Britain Seek Formula to Prevent Civil War in China

With the surrender of Japan, the relationship among the nations of Asia and the Pacific has been completely altered. Not for a long time, if ever, will Japan emerge as a first-rate world power. She will be stripped of all the territory she has acquired since 1895 and will be confined to her four home islands. Her country will be occupied by Allied forces for an indefinite period. Her war industries will be dismantled. Not in the foreseeable future will she be in a position to challenge the peace of the world; nor will she be able to exert any direct influence upon the course of events in the Pacific and Far East.

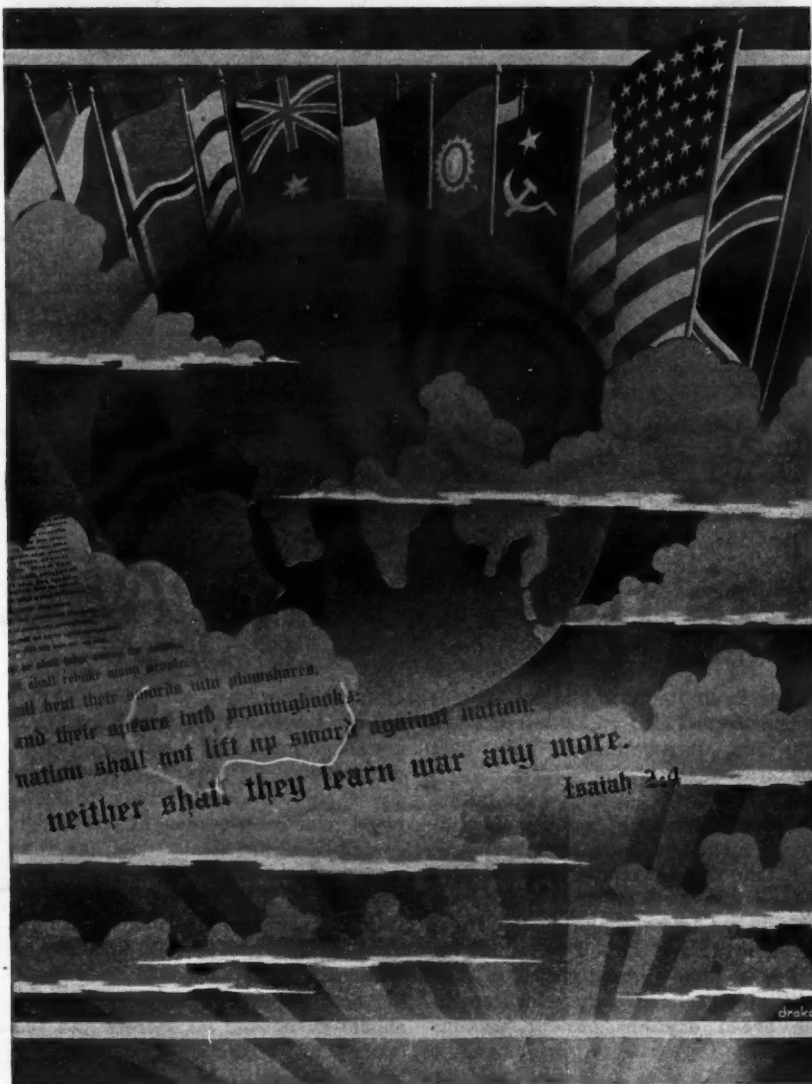
While we know that the forcible withdrawal of Japan from a position of influence in the Pacific area has upset the balance of power in that region, we do not yet know what shape future developments are to take. The defeat of Japan has indeed solved one gigantic problem by removing the threat of her domination. It has also left many other problems with which we and our Allies shall be wrestling during the weeks and months ahead. Upon the wisdom of the solution we make will depend the peace of Asia and with it the peace of the world.

### Territorial Problems

Many of these problems will become immediately apparent. They relate to the disposal of territories once controlled by Japan. Even before Japan launched her attack upon Pearl Harbor, which extended her control to regions stretching from the Aleutians to the doorstep of Australia and from the gates of India to the middle of the Pacific, she had a vast empire in Asia and in the islands of the Pacific. In 1941, her empire totaled nearly 764,000 square miles, with a population of 137,000,000. Pushed back to her home islands, she will lose four-fifths of her prewar area and nearly one-half of her population. Postwar Japan will be made up of 147,000 square miles (about the size of California) and 70,000,000 persons.

The first big issue to face the Allies will be to decide the fate of these lands of which Japan is to be stripped. If the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China can agree upon this issue, the first hurdle to co-operation in the Far East will have been overcome. No blueprint has yet been drawn up for the disposal of these territories. It is true that in December 1943, President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Gen-

(Concluded on page 6)



DRAWING BY WILLIAM DRAKE FOR THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

## New Occasions

By Walter E. Myer

Half a century ago James Bryce, British statesman and author, wrote a book on American life and politics, *The American Commonwealth*. In one of the chapters, entitled "The Fatalism of the Multitude," he described as one of the weaknesses of our democracy the tendency of the individual American to lose himself in the crowd, to feel that his voice, among millions, counted for little, and that he might as well not try to influence the course of national affairs. In earlier days this feeling was less pronounced, for society was simple then, and each citizen knew that his opinions really counted for something in the life of his community. But later life became complex. America grew to be a great nation and the individual found it harder to assert himself. "In this multitude his own being seems lost," wrote Mr. Bryce. "He has the sense of insignificance which overwhelms us when at night we survey the host of heaven, and know that from even the nearest fixed star this planet of ours is invisible."

If man was thus overwhelmed by the multitude in the quiet days of half a century ago, how much greater must be his sense of helplessness in this age of B-29's, rocket planes, atomic bombs, global wars, and world-wide ebbs and flows of business activity and employment! It is little wonder that people should feel themselves swept along by a tide which they but dimly understand and over which they exercise little or no control.

But this spirit of helplessness, though natural enough, is dangerous. The increasing difficulty of controlling our destinies must not defeat us, but rather stir us to unaccustomed effort. If the age is new and if its problems are new and perilous, we must find the way to a new citizenship. We must find out how to make our influence felt in the solving of national problems and how to make our country's influence felt for good around the world. If our forefathers knew how to practice democracy on a small scale, we must find out how to practice it on a grand scale. We cannot turn backward. We dare not stand idly by. We must move forward with the times. The way of courage and victory in a changing world was proclaimed by James Russell Lowell when he wrote:

"New occasions teach new duties; time makes ancient good uncouth.  
They must upward still and onward, who would keep abreast of truth.  
Lo, before us gleam the campfires, we ourselves must Pilgrims be,  
Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea,  
Nor attempt the future's portals with the past's blood-rusted key."

## Atomic Power Will Inaugurate New Age

Harnessing of Revolutionary Force May Bring Profound Changes to Industry

### POSSIBLE THREAT TO CIVILIZATION

Adequate Controls Must Be Adopted If Mankind Is to Be Saved from Utter Destruction

More than a month has passed since the world was startled by the explosion of a strange new bomb above the Japanese city of Hiroshima. An insignificant missile it must have appeared as it careened downward from the skies—a small-sized bomb with an explosive core probably little larger than a man's hand. But at the moment of explosion the heavens were filled with a blinding white light, and then with swirling clouds of smoke, dust, and debris which concealed the molten ruins of a great city. Five days later the proud empire of Japan sued for peace.

It was in early August that the awesome event occurred and it is now September, but the world is still startled and anxious. For the explosion over Hiroshima did more than seal the fate of an already tottering empire; more than hasten the end of history's most terrible war. At last man had solved the mystery of the atom; had, as President Truman put it, harnessed "the basic power of the universe," had loosed "the force from which the sun draws its power," had brought an epoch of history to an end and had ushered mankind suddenly into the Atomic Age.

### A New Age

What this new age will be like we do not know. It is possible, even probable, that the newly discovered form of energy may be further harnessed so that it may be used not only to produce earth-shaking explosions but to turn the wheels of peaceful industry.

The New York *Herald Tribune* says that "coal could produce 3,000,000 times as much energy if used atomically instead of in combustion." With such a fact in mind, it is being freely predicted that some day a handful of fuel may propel giant liners on the ocean or drive locomotives across a continent. Fantastic visions dance before the eyes even of sober scientists, visions of changes in industry and in our every day lives far greater than the changes wrought by the steam engine and the electric dynamo.

We stand, perhaps, on the threshold of an era whose forms and outlines we can but dimly discern. It is well that we should be thinking of these possibilities, getting ready for them so that, if or when they come, they will bring ordered progress rather than mass unemployment and unutterable confusion.

Fortunately we will have time to prepare for the far-reaching indus-

(Continued on page 2)





"Atomic energy is the force from which the sun draws its power"

DRAWING BY HERBERT BAYER © GENERAL ELECTRIC

# World Enters the Atomic Age

(Continued from page 1)

trial revolution which now seems such a definite possibility. Much experimentation will be required before the explosions which attend the splitting of the atom can be so controlled that they will drive the engines of industry. We have long been acquainted with the explosive power of TNT, but scientists have not yet learned how to operate automobiles, lawn mowers, or locomotives with it.

Many years passed between Franklin's experiments with electricity and the dawn of the electric age. In the present days of organized and large-scale scientific research the time lag between the discovery and the use of a new force will no doubt be greatly shortened. But even so, the industrial revolution foreshadowed by the harnessing of the atom is probably a long way off.

## Military Revolution

Not so the military revolution. With all its frightening implications, it is already here. A new weapon, terrifying in its destructive power, has been placed in the hands of man. More significant is the fact that it is only in its infancy. President Truman, who knows its secrets as the rest of us do not, has said that the bomb which brought Japan to her knees is merely the forerunner of larger and more powerful instruments of destruction. On the basis of this fact, we know that men now possess the power quickly to tear civilization to shreds.

Though, as we have said, the forms of industry and social life in the Atomic Age are dim and uncertain, the outline of future wars is clear enough. In the next war, if it comes, armies and navies, and airplanes as we have known them, will play minor roles. The fighting will be done chiefly by atomic bombs.

Nor will these bombs be carried in the planes to which we are accustomed, but in rockets; improved models of the V2 type which the Germans were so successfully developing near the end of the war. If there is another war, it may burst forth suddenly, as some nation, without moving its armed

forces from its own territory, hurls atomic bomb-laden rockets across sea and land, visiting flaming ruin upon the cities of the victim country.

Such a war may last but a few hours, and in this instant of time the civilization which has been so laboriously built up through countless centuries may be reduced to dust and ashes. This is not idle speculation but stern probability; not a bad dream from which we shall presently awaken, but inevitable reality which we can see in the broad daylight of our waking hours.

We in America may find fleeting comfort in the knowledge that the secret of the atom is now the exclusive possession of the United States, Great Britain, and Canada—fleeting because there is little hope that it will for long be ours alone.

No one nation has ever been able to lock up a great invention or scientific discovery and hold it as a monopoly. This discovery is not likely to prove an exception to the rule. Throughout the war the Germans were working on the atomic problem. We ran a fateful race with them, and beat them to it, but by a narrow margin. Russian scientists are delving into the atomic mystery and may be only a little way behind us.

As Winston Churchill says, however, "although research will now proceed in many places, the construction of the immense plants necessary to transform the theory into action cannot be improvised in any country." He says, therefore, that "so far as we know, there are perhaps three or four years before the great progress in the United States can be overtaken."

What are we going to do with these few precious years? President Truman asks that Congress provide for a commission to control the production of atomic power. What rules will the commission make?

Two separate lines of policy have gained wide support. One plan provides that the United States, in partnership with Great Britain and Canada, should retain in its possession the secrets of the atom and should con-

tinue to govern the production of atomic power. It is recognized that other nations may soon enter into competition with us, but those who favor this procedure think that we could improve processes of production faster than our rivals could and that we would retain leadership. The meaning of this plan is that competition of armaments would continue, even in the case of this deadliest of weapons.

Another proposal is that America should turn over its secrets and the control of production to the United Nations Organization. The Council of the Organization might then either stop or regulate production here, and forbid the building of production plants in any other country.

## Supreme Faith Needed

To follow such a course would call for supreme faith in the new and as yet untried United Nations Organization. The plan could succeed only if the Security Council were permitted to send representatives freely into every country to check all production plants and be assured that no nation were secretly preparing production of atomic power. Whether all nations would consent to such observation and surveillance is a question, but if the proposal were made by the United States now, while we have the atomic secret and others do not, there is a chance that it might be freely accepted.

Neither of these plans offers a certain guarantee against the future destructive use of the atomic bomb. The acceptance of either would involve danger as well as promise. The bald fact is that we shall gain insurance against destruction only by preventing future wars.

But how is that end to be achieved? Certainly we will not have permanent peace merely by wishing for it. War can be prevented only if we, the people of this tortured world, come to understand and remove the causes of war.

Some of these causes are economic. Wherever on this globe there is pov-

erty and suffering and denial of opportunity, the seeds of hate and war, like disease germs, will grow and flourish and bear bitter fruit. If there is to be peace, therefore, we must study the needs of men and women and children everywhere. We must adopt policies tending to relieve their poverty and to set them on the road of progress. We must see to it that the people of all countries have markets, that they enjoy favorable trade opportunities, that they are not denied raw materials essential to industry.

Other causes of war are political and psychological—arrogant nationalism, race hatreds, the lust for power. These forces of discord must be matched by spiritual forces which support understanding, tolerance, and restraint. These forces can make themselves felt among nations only if they spring from the hearts of individuals.

The New York Times, in the following stirring editorial, stresses the responsibility which rests upon all people:

"We now possess the means to blow ourselves and perhaps the planet itself to drifting dust or make this world of ours a paradise. We have reached the crucial turning point in our age-old march toward civilization. Never before has there been such an urgent call to the spiritual force which resides in the consciousness of the individuals who make up mankind. That force alone can control the new power. . . .

"War is a senseless horror for victor and vanquished alike. The nations have united to enforce peace. But no international organization is stronger than the mass of individuals which supports it. We still have many things to learn. We must learn forbearance first of all. We must learn to distrust the arrogance of youth, the cynicism of age, the desire for power, and the dogmas of ideology. We must learn how to be really free, which we can never do until each of us accepts his individual responsibility. The tremendous potentialities locked up in the atomic bomb will compel us to learn fast or perish. The world's only de-



WERNER IN CHICAGO SUN

fense against its misuse lies in the humble and contrite heart of Everyman everywhere."

We cannot afford for a moment to forget this tremendous fact: We stand in the presence of scientific revolution. Science has moved forward with a mighty bound and has placed in the hands of man an instrument which may be used either to improve life or to destroy the human race. If this crisis of civilization is to be safely met, there is need for unaccustomed wisdom. There is need for an educational revolution which will match the scientific. There is need that people everywhere be well informed concerning the problems they must face, that



they be skilled in the art of cooperation, that they be sympathetic, understanding, politically wise.

This revolution in political education has not yet occurred. Today, as we face the gravest of problems and issues in every quarter of the globe, there is little evidence of a new statesmanship, of a healing diplomacy, sustained by a world opinion which wills permanent peace and knows how to achieve it.

To build such opinion and to develop and support such statesmanship is the urgent duty of thoughtful people throughout the world. This is an undertaking in which the democracies, and especially our own nation, should be proud to lead. During the great conflict of arms this nation willed scientific progress, for it was essential for the winning of the war. Let it now will progress in political education, for it is equally essential to the sustaining of the peace.

#### United Effort Needed

All educational forces, the radio, the moving pictures, the press, the church, the home, the schools, should bend their energies toward this end. Especial responsibility rests upon the schools, where the young citizens of the nation are already mobilized for such training as may best equip them to serve their country and mankind. The schools can play an important part in the supreme effort to guide mankind through the dangers of the new age which we are now entering.

They cannot do this if they hold too rigidly to courses of study which were developed in calmer times. It will do little good to turn out citizens who have but a smattering of information about the vexing problems of their country and the world. The job is too big for that. Students must be given time to study the issues of this age; time to read, to think, to reflect. Thus alone can they build up the forces of knowledge, reason, and spirit which are so urgently required.

This great undertaking should not be approached in a spirit of fear. Wendell Willkie doubtless spoke truly when he said a few years ago, "You and I will never know a calm moment in our time." But if we are not to enjoy calmness and repose and security we shall know adventure in our time, and we may be sustained by confidence and determined hope.

"Our earth is but a small star in the great universe," said Stephen Vincent Benet in his reverent and inspiring *Prayer for the United Nations*. "Yet of it we may make, if we choose, a planet unvexed by war, untouched by hunger or fear, undisturbed by senseless distinctions of race, color, or theory. Grant us that courage and foreseeing to begin this task today that our children and our children's children may be proud of the name of man."

# Reconversion Goes Forward

THROUGHOUT the war years everyone hoped for an early end of hostilities, but at the same time, thoughtful people were uneasy about the consequences of peace. "What will happen to the war plants when hostilities end and to the people working in them?" That question for months has been asked by millions. It had been a leading topic of conversation in every leading city and town where war work was being done.

Now peace has come and we are face to face with the problem. The government is canceling war contracts. It is either cutting down or stopping altogether the manufacture of aircraft, artillery, ammunition, and other weapons. It is cutting down the production of thousands of articles used

and need jobs is adding to the ranks of the army of the unemployed. John W. Snyder, reconversion director, estimates that five million workers will be unemployed within three months, and that by next spring the number may reach eight million. This figure may be compared with about 13 million who were unemployed at the depth of the great depression 12 years ago.

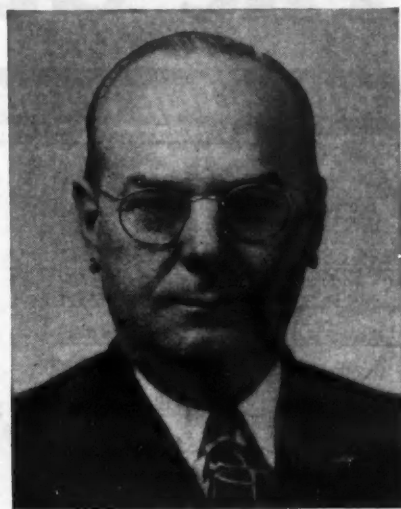
Many of these unemployed will receive unemployment benefits under the social security system. The amount they will receive and the length of time they will receive it varies in the different states. In some states, they will get as much as \$25 a week for as long as 26 weeks. In other states they will get only \$15 a week and the payments will last only 14 weeks, even though they are not yet employed at the end of that time. The average weekly payment is about \$18.

President Truman has recommended that Congress enact legislation whereby the federal government would supplement payments made by the states so that all the unemployed, wherever they live, may receive as much as \$25 a week for as long as 26 weeks.

How long will the period of unemployment last? The more optimistic view is that it will be over in a year or a year and a half. By that time, it is said that nearly all the factories which have been working on war materials, will be retooled and will be ready to manufacture goods for peacetime. With government controls taken off, they will be producing at full speed.

It is argued, furthermore, that they will have a market for all the goods they can produce. For a long time, people have been going without things that they need and they will be in a hurry to obtain these goods. There will be a flood of orders for houses, automobiles, refrigerators, washing machines, radios, and thousands of other articles. Industry will have every incentive to go forward, for people will want goods and, moreover, they have saved money during the war and will be able to buy them. With factories everywhere working at full speed, most people can find employment at good wages, and with these incomes they can continue to buy and to keep the factories going.

A less optimistic view is held by many people who say that the factories of the nation can produce all that people can buy without employing all those who want work. They point to the fact that there was mass unemployment for 10 years before the war started, and further than that, many labor-saving devices were put into effect during wartime and will continue in use. They expect, therefore, a spurt in production which will last



John W. Snyder  
Responsible for reconversion program

for a while, but they think there will be much unemployment, and the unemployed will not have money with which to buy the things they need. If factories run at full speed for a while they will find that they cannot sell all their products. They will then cut production or close down, as they did during the great depression and this will increase unemployment.

The Truman administration inclines toward the view which has just been expressed. The President's position may be summed up in this way: When the wartime controls are taken off and industry gets back to producing for peacetime needs, business may be very active, and it is possible that all the people may find employment. We cannot be sure, however, that private industry can furnish employment to all. It is quite possible, even probable, that there may be many unemployed. We must prepare for that possibility. The government should make plans in advance so that if unemployment develops it can furnish work to those whom private industry cannot employ.

To meet the unemployment situation, if it should develop, chief reliance is placed upon the so-called "Full Employment" bill, which is now before Congress. Under the terms of this measure, the President and his cabinet aides would find out, from year to year, how much each industry was planning to produce. In addition, they would find out how many people were working and seeking work. If, after such an investigation, the President come to the conclusion that the nation's farms, businesses, and industries could provide work for, say, only 50 million people, whereas 60 million would want jobs, he would then recommend to Congress that certain steps be taken by the government to provide 10 million additional jobs.

For example, the President might suggest a lowering of taxes, so that businesses and industries could keep more of their profits and thus have a greater incentive to expand their operations. He might recommend steps to bring about higher wages or lower prices. He might propose that the government engage in a great public works program, including low-cost housing, highways, and other such projects. Or he might make any number of other suggestions for achieving full employment.

Fundamental issues are raised by this bill and it will be hotly debated this month in Congress. THE AMERICAN OBSERVER will analyze the arguments as the debate proceeds.



Senator James E. Murray  
Co-author of full-employment bill

in the prosecution of the war. It is freeing factories which have been doing war work to proceed with the manufacture of civilian goods.

Some of these factories can turn over quickly to the production of peacetime goods. For example, plants that have been producing bulldozers for the Army now can produce them for road building and other construction activities. Plants that have been making rayon and nylon for parachutes and other war materials can turn without much delay to the manufacture of the same goods for articles of clothing.

It will take other industries longer to convert from wartime to peacetime production. It will take months for the automobile plants to retool and change over from the manufacture of tanks or airplanes to the making of automobiles.

Meanwhile, factories all over the country are closing down and employees are losing their jobs. This is happening to thousands every day. The return of servicemen who want



WE CAN HAVE  
JOBS FOR ALL  
IF WE FILL THE  
NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE

#### THIS IS WHAT WE NEED



ADEQUATE DIET FOR  
130 MILLION AMERICANS



16 MILLION  
DWELLINGS



UNIVERSAL HIGH  
SCHOOL EDUCATION



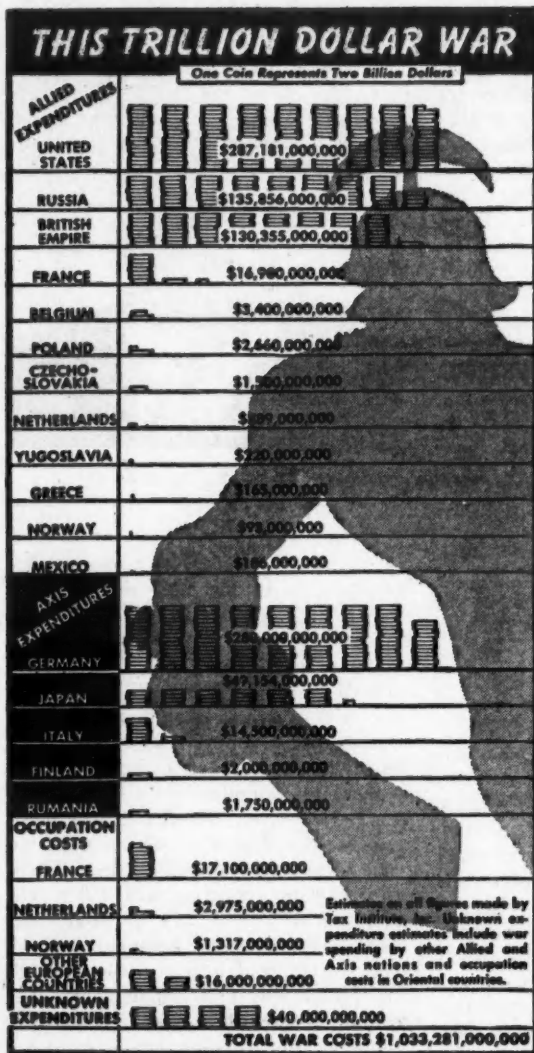
MEDICAL CARE  
FOR ALL



ADEQUATE  
LEISURE



# The Story of the Summer



These two pages of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER are regularly devoted to interpretive summaries of each week's news developments. This week, in order to bring our readers up to date, we substitute a similar review of the summer's events. "The Story of the Week" will be resumed in the issue of September 17.

## War's End

The summer of 1945 opened with Germany beaten but Japan a still potent enemy. There were slow, painfully won American gains on Okinawa, key island of the Ryukyu chain, and in the Philippines. Bombing of Japanese cities was regular and heavy. But the world waited, expecting peace only after the kind of invasion and land warfare which had accomplished Germany's downfall.

The summer ended with the signing of an armistice which meant that the greatest war in history was over—a war costing a trillion dollars and upward of 50,000,000 casualties (killed and wounded). Its sudden climax followed two momentous developments. On August 6, American airmen dropped the first atomic bomb, almost obliterating the city of Hiroshima and with it Japanese hopes. On August 8, Russia entered the war, placing the final seal of doom on enemy efforts. Within a week, victory had been proclaimed.

## The Home Front

The nation immediately turned to the great problems of reconversion. Even before Japan fell, the summer was one of reduced tempo for the

American home front. Although war production, the draft, and key economic controls were kept up on the chance that the war might last well into 1946, the trend of domestic events showed that both government and the civilian population had an eye on the peace to come.

By the end of July, some \$16,300,000,000 in Army and Navy cutbacks told a story of lowered military requirements. With the curtailment of war production came loosened OPA and WPB controls, giving business its opportunity to begin easing back into peacetime patterns. With it, too, came signs of unrest among workers. There were strong demands for higher wages, accompanied by a rash of labor disputes which, between V-E Day and midsummer, doubled the year's strike total.

At the same time, the government's anticipation of the long-term future brought new laws to promote postwar economic stability. Congress authorized the president to cut tariffs 50 per cent in negotiating new reciprocal trade agreements. It passed a law giving business a more favored tax position to cushion reconversion. It considered a bill which would abolish the old National Labor Relations Board in favor of two new conciliating agencies. The bill, designed to minimize labor unrest by enlarging the scope of government mediation, virtually outlaws strikes in public utilities and other critical sectors of the economy.

Japan's capitulation, of course, gave impetus to an avalanche of changes. A week after the surrender, only 125 of the original 800 WPB controls over industry remained on the books. The go-ahead signal for production of such peacetime commodities as refrigerators, radios, and stoves had been given. The wartime 48-hour week gave way to the peacetime 40-hour

week. Employment ceilings and priorities were dropped, and President Truman announced a more liberal wage policy to modify the battered Little Steel Formula. The OPA pared down its rules and regulations still further, sweeping gasoline, canned foods, and inexpensive shoes from the ration list. The lend-lease program was discontinued.

## The Armed Forces

From V-E Day until the cataclysmic week of August 14, Army and Navy leaders counted redeployment—the transfer of troops from Europe to the Pacific—as their biggest problem. Plans called for a 7,000,000-man army to beat Japan, as well as thousands of planes, ships, and guns, and both services were busy shuttling men and supplies to points of need when the cease-fire order came.

Immediately, redeployment became a dead issue; the size and character of the occupation force, the future of the draft, and demobilization provided the big questions. By this time, the services have answered most of them. According to present plans, between 300,000 and 500,000 troops will remain in the occupied sections of Europe. About 1,500,000 will stay in the Far East. Those whose services are no longer required will return to the United States—about 50,000 of them each month. In the next year and a half, as many as 5,500,000 may be discharged. Discharges will proceed according to a revised point system.

## Toward World Peace

Last summer, the great nations of the world endorsed the idea of international cooperation for the second time in the twentieth century. They established *The United Nations*, an organization for stopping future aggression. With it, they set up an Economic and Social Council designed to prevent conflicts arising from economic maladjustments, and a new World Court to mediate international disputes. They approved the world bank and international stabilization fund blueprinted at Bretton Woods. They gave the green light to lesser agencies handling particular world problems.

This time, the cause of internationalism was strengthened by full United States support. Not only did this country assume a position of leadership at the San Francisco Conference,

which established *The United Nations*; in the course of the summer, it approved the Civil Aviation Pact regularizing peacetime air travel and commerce, joined the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, accepted the Bretton Woods plan, and ratified the United Nations Charter.

## New Faces

Both here and abroad, the summer brought new faces into the political limelight. At home, a reshuffle of President Truman's cabinet made James F. Byrnes Secretary of State, incumbent Edward Stettinius being appointed as American delegate to *The United Nations*. Other new cabinet members were Clinton B. Anderson, Secretary of Agriculture; Lewis B. Schwellenbach, Secretary of Labor; Robert E. Hannegan, Postmaster General; and Fred Vinson, Secretary of



Another foe to conquer

the Treasury. In the latter's place as Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, President Truman installed banker John W. Snyder.

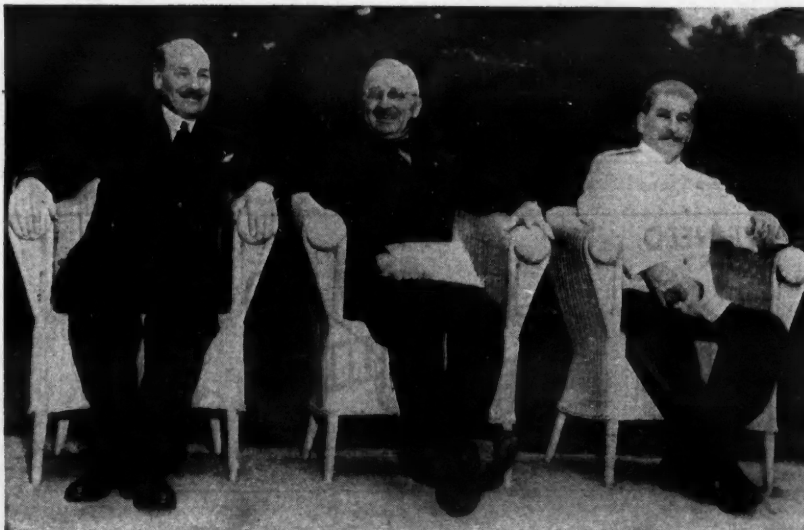
Abroad, the leaders of Britain's Labor Party emerged in command of an overwhelming majority in the newly elected House of Commons. This made Major Clement Attlee, quietly idealistic socialist, Winston Churchill's successor as head of the British government. As his chief cabinet aides, Attlee appointed such experienced trade union leaders as Ernest Bevin, Arthur Greenwood, and Ellen Wilkinson.

Other government heads coming to power during the summer months included T. V. Soong, who replaced Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as China's premier. (The presidency and real authority, however, remained in Chiang's hands.) In Italy, the feeble leadership of Premier Ivanoe Bonomi was at last replaced by that of the liberal Professor Ferruccio Parri. In Australia, Joseph B. Chifley became prime minister upon the death of John Curtin.

## Reconstruction

As spring drifted into summer and the sound of V-E Day celebrations died away, Europe turned toward the sober tasks of reconstruction. In part, they were political tasks; in part, economic. To some extent, they were the responsibility of the great powers; to some extent, that of all Europe's war-ravaged people.

On the political side, the great powers agreed on zones of occupation in Germany and Austria. They made



The Big Three as they met at Potsdam in July





**HISTORIC SESSION.** President Truman and his cabinet as they met to consider the Japanese surrender offer. Left to right: Secretary of Agriculture Clinton Anderson; Secretary of Labor Lewis Schwelienbach; John Blandford, head of the National Housing Agency; War Production Board Chief Julius Krug; John W. Snyder, Director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion; William H. Davis, head of the Office of Economic Stabilization; Leo T. Crowley, chief of Foreign Economic Administration; Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace; Abe Fortas, substituting at this meeting for Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, who was on vacation; Postmaster General Robert Hannegan; Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson; Secretary of State James F. Byrnes; President Truman; Secretary of the Treasury Fred M. Vinson; Attorney General Tom Clark; Secretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal.

the first broad decisions on reparations. They outlined policies for the trial of war criminals. They settled Poland's boundaries, placed disputed Venezia Giulia under joint Allied control, and concluded other territorial adjustments, such as the cession of Ruthenia to Russia. They began repatriating war prisoners to the Axis countries. On the economic side, they stepped up the activities of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, whose function is to bring food, medicine, and other essentials to Allied war victims.

Meanwhile, individual European nations were putting together the shattered pieces of prewar economic and political structures. Returning exile governments gave way to realignments which included resistance leaders. From Bulgaria to France, elections were scheduled. There were purges and trials of those who had collaborated during the occupation. France condemned to death her Vichy chief of state, Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain, then commuted his sentence to life imprisonment. Norway brought Vidkun Quisling to trial. All over the continent, other nations took similar action toward their pro-Axis citizens.

Struggling to regain their economic balance, the liberated nations began making trade pacts among themselves. The first Norwegian Parliament to meet after Germany's fall concluded one with Sweden. Reborn Poland arranged one with Russia and another with Sweden.

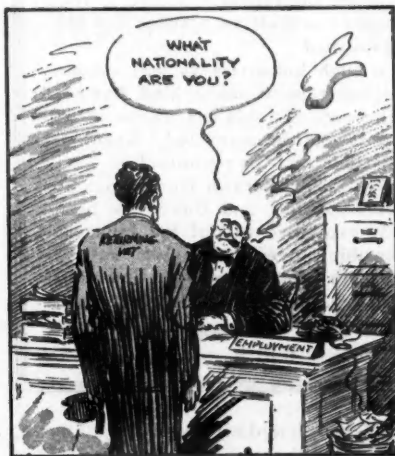
Even in Germany, the first steps toward reconstruction were taken. Under close Allied scrutiny, a few political parties sprang up. The United States began a program of political reorientation for German prisoners here, hoping to repatriate them as potential leaders of a democratic state.

### Splitting the Atom

When the historian of the future looks back upon the fateful summer of 1945, he is likely to fix his attention upon August the sixth, and to call the dropping of an atomic bomb on Hiro-

shima, which occurred that day, the most important event, not merely of the summer or the year or the century, but the greatest of all that have been recorded in the long story of the human race.

The possible consequences of that development in the lives of men and nations are discussed elsewhere in this paper. But the event itself, what was it? What is meant by the splitting of the atom? A complete answer cannot be given, for many of the facts remain secrets known only to those who are engaged in the work of producing the bombs. Even the facts known to scientists are hard to explain, for the subject of atomic energy is very complex and it can be under-



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Is this what he fought for?

stood only by those who have engaged in long scientific study. The following facts, however, may be helpful.

Everything in the world, every article to be found anywhere, consists of substances called *elements*. The elements are made up of very small particles called *atoms*. An atom is so small that, as one authority puts it, "it would take 50 million of them, placed side by side, to extend an inch."

It was formerly thought that the atom was the smallest particle of matter, but for some time it has been

known that each atom is also composed of a number of particles. Each atom has a center made up of *protons* and *neutrons*, around which circle bits of electricity known as *electrons*.

By directing a powerful charge of electricity against an atom it may be split; that is, some of its particles may be broken off. Then the electrical attraction which had held the atom together is given off in the form of electrical energy. If only a few atoms are broken, the result is not noticeable, but if millions of them are affected, there is a tremendous explosion. The baffling task of harnessing and controlling this terrific explosive force was accomplished in the making of the atomic bomb.

There are more electrons in heavy than in light elements, more in uranium, heaviest of elements, than in any other. That is why uranium must be used in the production of atomic bombs.

## S M I L E S

Cross-examining lawyer: "Now you still maintain that the prisoner is the man you saw stealing your bicycle?"

Plaintiff: "After arguing with you for half an hour, I don't believe I ever had a bicycle!"

He: "I suppose you think I'm a perfect idiot."

She: "Oh, none of us is perfect."

"If I have talked too long, it's because I haven't my watch with me, and there's no clock in the hall," declared a long-winded lecturer.

"There's a calendar behind you," shouted a voice from the audience.

Teacher: "What was the greatest accomplishment of the Romans?"

John: "Learning to speak Latin!"

Little Boy (reading item from Manchuria): "What does it mean here by seasoned troops, Dad?"

Dad: "Mustered by the officers and peppered by the enemy."

"That waiter is either a fool or a humorist."

"What's the matter?"

"I ordered extract of beef and he brought me a glass of milk."

## NEWS QUIZ

1. When was the first atomic bomb dropped on Japan?
2. What are some of the predictions about the possible use of atomic energy in the future for industrial purposes?
3. How long, according to Winston Churchill, may the United States be able to hold a monopoly on the production of atomic bombs?
4. What two proposals have been made for the future control of the production of atomic energy?
5. What suggestion has President Truman made in this respect?
6. Why is it the responsibility of every citizen to work for the preservation of peace?
7. In what way are the schools in a particularly favorable position to carry out this responsibility?
8. How will postwar Japan compare in size and population with the Japanese empire of 1941?
9. Which are the principal territories of which Japan is to be stripped?
10. Tell of some of the conflicts which may develop among the Allies in deciding upon the disposition of these territories.
11. What promise has been made with respect to Korea?
12. Name some of the Pacific islands which the United States may insist upon retaining.
13. Why, if peace is to be preserved in Asia, is it important that a stable and unified China be established?

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### Pronunciations

- Ivanoe Bonomi—ee-vah'noe-eh boe-noe'mee  
 Chiang Kai-shek—jee-ong' ki' shek'—i as in ice  
 Hiroshima—hee-roe-shee'mah  
 Hokkaido—hoe-ki'doe—i as in ice  
 Izus—ee'zoos  
 Kamchatka—kam-chaht'kah  
 Kurile—koo-reel'  
 Ferruccio Parri—feh-root'cheeo pahr'ree  
 Pescadores—peskah-doe'rehs  
 Ryukyus—ree-oo'yooos  
 Sakhalin—sa-ka-leen'  
 Tarawa—tah'rah-wah

The teacher was trying to teach her class the meaning of fractions. She asked: "Tommy, if the butcher cut a pound of beefsteak into four pieces, what would he have?"

"Four customers waiting for it," Tommy replied.

Teacher: "And so you see, children, love is the one thing you can give in abundance and still have plenty left."

Jimmy: "How about measles?"



ROSS IN SATURDAY EVENING POST

"He's all right—just don't mention banana peels."



# Serious Problems Face Allies in Asia

(Concluded from page 1)

eralissimo Chiang Kai-shek met in Cairo and agreed that Japan should be deprived of all the territory she had acquired since 1895. It was also agreed that Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores Islands should be returned to China, and that Korea should "in due course" become an independent nation.

Japan acquired the island of Formosa—which lies 700 miles southwest of the main Japanese islands, and 90 miles off the China coast—and the small nearby Pescadores Islands as a result of her war with China in 1894-95. She seized the northeastern provinces of China, collectively known as Manchuria, in September 1931. The invasion of Manchuria was considered the opening gun in World War II, for with the Japanese attack the tide of aggression continued relentlessly on until it engulfed the entire world.

Since these territories had been wrested from China by force, it would seem logical that they should now be restored to that country. It would also seem just and logical that Korea should be granted its independence. This country of 23,000,000 inhabitants has long aspired to independence. Nominally independent for many centuries, although its government was largely influenced by China until the war of 1894-95, it was annexed to the Japanese empire in 1910. The Koreans are a people distinct from other Asiatic races and, under Japanese domination, have been cruelly mistreated.

If the Cairo commitments are carried out, at least certain of the most difficult territorial issues in Asia will be settled satisfactorily. The only uncertainty lies in the position of Russia. The Soviet government was at peace with Japan when the Cairo declaration was made. It did not subscribe to the pledges made at that time. The Russians were also neutral at the time of the Potsdam declaration on Japan, made July 26 of this year by the Big Three. Whether by entering the war against Japan in its final stages the Russians agreed to accept these provisions is not known.

Until Russia's position is known there will be uncertainty. At the time of Japan's surrender, Russian armies were in possession of large sections of both Manchuria and Korea. Historically, the Russians have an interest in both regions. Before the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, in which Russia was defeated, the Russians had established a strong position in both Manchuria and Korea.

Will the Soviets now seek to reestablish, even strengthen, their position in Manchuria and Korea? That is one of the questions now causing uneasiness, for if they insist upon it, the Cairo pledge cannot be fulfilled and the seeds of dissension among the Allies will have been planted. It is felt that Russia will want certain concessions in Manchuria, such as control of railroads and seaports, but that she may not seek to annex any territory.

Whatever is decided about Manchuria and Korea, it is assumed that Russia will insist upon certain territorial concessions from Japan. For one thing, she is expected to demand the southern half of the island of Sakhalin, which lies north of the Japanese islands and southeast of Siberia. When Russia was defeated in 1905,

she was forced to yield the southern half of the island to Japan. Although it has considerable resources in timber, petroleum, coal, naphtha, and fisheries, its principal value lies in its strategic location. In Russian hands, it would stand as a mighty bulwark against an assault upon Siberia's most vulnerable coast.

It is possible that Russia will also demand the Kurile Islands, which stretch from the Japanese home island of Hokkaido to the Russian Kamchatka Peninsula. The Soviet Union may indeed consider possession of these islands vital to her future de-

over the Marshalls, the Carolines, and the Marianas, which were mandated to Japan after the last war and which were fortified by that country in violation of the terms of the League of Nations mandate. We may also demand permanent control over the Bonins, Izus, and Ryukyus, which were outright Japanese possessions before the war. Certain American political circles insist that we should also demand the Kuriles in order to protect the northern Pacific.

Whether this country will go so far as to seek to retain all the islands in the Pacific on which it has built mili-

urged that some arrangement be worked out as soon as possible for the settlement of these questions.

One of the territorial questions which has already flared into an open conflict relates to the restoration of certain territories to their prewar owners. Hong Kong is the most conspicuous example of such a conflict. This island, located at the mouth of the Canton River 60 miles from the city of Canton, has been in the possession of Great Britain since 1841. It has long been regarded as one of the bulwarks of British defense in the Far East. It surrendered to the Japanese on Christmas Day, 1941.

The Chinese have long sought the return of Hong Kong. At Cairo the subject was broached to Prime Minister Churchill by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, but no agreement was reached. Immediately after the surrender of Japan, the Chinese restated their claims to the strategic island, but the British Labor government, like previous British governments, made it known that it would insist upon continued British control of Hong Kong after the war. Unless a solution to this question can be found, ill feeling between the British and the Chinese is likely to grow.

Everyone recognizes that the future of peace in Asia hinges largely upon what happens in China during the months ahead. Even before the Japanese surrender, China was on the verge of civil war. With the surrender, the threat of internal conflict became even greater. All attempts to compose the differences between the government of Chiang Kai-shek at Chungking and the Chinese Communists, strongly entrenched in the northwestern provinces, with headquarters at Yenan, have failed.

The issues dividing Chungking and the Communists are deep-seated and of long standing. Even during the long war with Japan there have been several armed clashes between the two groups. If an understanding cannot be reached in the near future and if civil war comes to China, it will be difficult indeed for the Allies to work together for peace.

It has long been feared that a civil war in China would result in conflict among the other Allies, with the Russians supporting the Chinese Communists and the American and British helping the Chungking government. During the last few weeks, however, there have been several indications that the Soviet government is undertaking to prevent civil war by throwing its support to the Chungking government. A treaty was signed last month between the two governments. What agreements were made in this treaty are not known, but the mere fact that the two governments were able to come to terms would seem to indicate that the Russians are not going to support the Chinese Communists.

The months ahead will be as critical in Asia as they will be in Europe. They will be months which will determine whether the nations which have won the war are going to resume the game of power politics or whether they are going to cooperate to lay the foundations for a lasting peace. Many of the problems connected with peace in Asia will be discussed at length in future issues of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.

## The Potsdam Ultimatum

*During the coming months the Allies will share the responsibility for imposing surrender terms upon the Japanese nation. The bases upon which these terms were decided were first publicly set forth in the Cairo Declaration issued December 1, 1943, by President Roosevelt, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and Prime Minister Churchill, and in the Potsdam Ultimatum which was made public July 26 of this year by President Truman, Chiang Kai-shek, and Churchill.*

*Because of their historic importance, the sections of the Potsdam Ultimatum upon which the Japanese surrender terms were based are listed below:*

"Following are our terms. We will not deviate from them. There are no alternatives. We shall brook no delay.

"There must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on a world conquest. We insist that a new order of peace, security and justice will be impossible until irresponsible militarism is driven from the world.

"Until such a new order is established and until there is convincing proof that Japan's war-making power is destroyed, points in Japanese territory to be designated by the Allies shall be occupied to secure the achievement of the basic objectives we are here setting forth.

"The terms of the Cairo declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine.

"The Japanese military forces, after being completely disarmed, shall be permitted to return to their homes with the opportunity to lead peaceful and productive lives.

"We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation, but stern justice shall be meted out to all war criminals, including those who have visited cruelties upon our prisoners. The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights, shall be established.

"Japan shall be permitted to maintain such industries as will sustain her economy and permit the exaction of just reparations in kind, but not those which would enable her to rearm for war. To this end, access to, as distinguished from control of, raw materials shall be permitted. Eventual Japanese participation in world trade relations shall be permitted.

"The occupying forces of the Allies shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as these objectives have been accomplished and there has been established, in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people, a peacefully inclined and responsible Government.

"We call upon the Government of Japan to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces, and to provide proper and adequate assurances of their good faith in such action. The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction."

fense and demand that they be turned over to her.

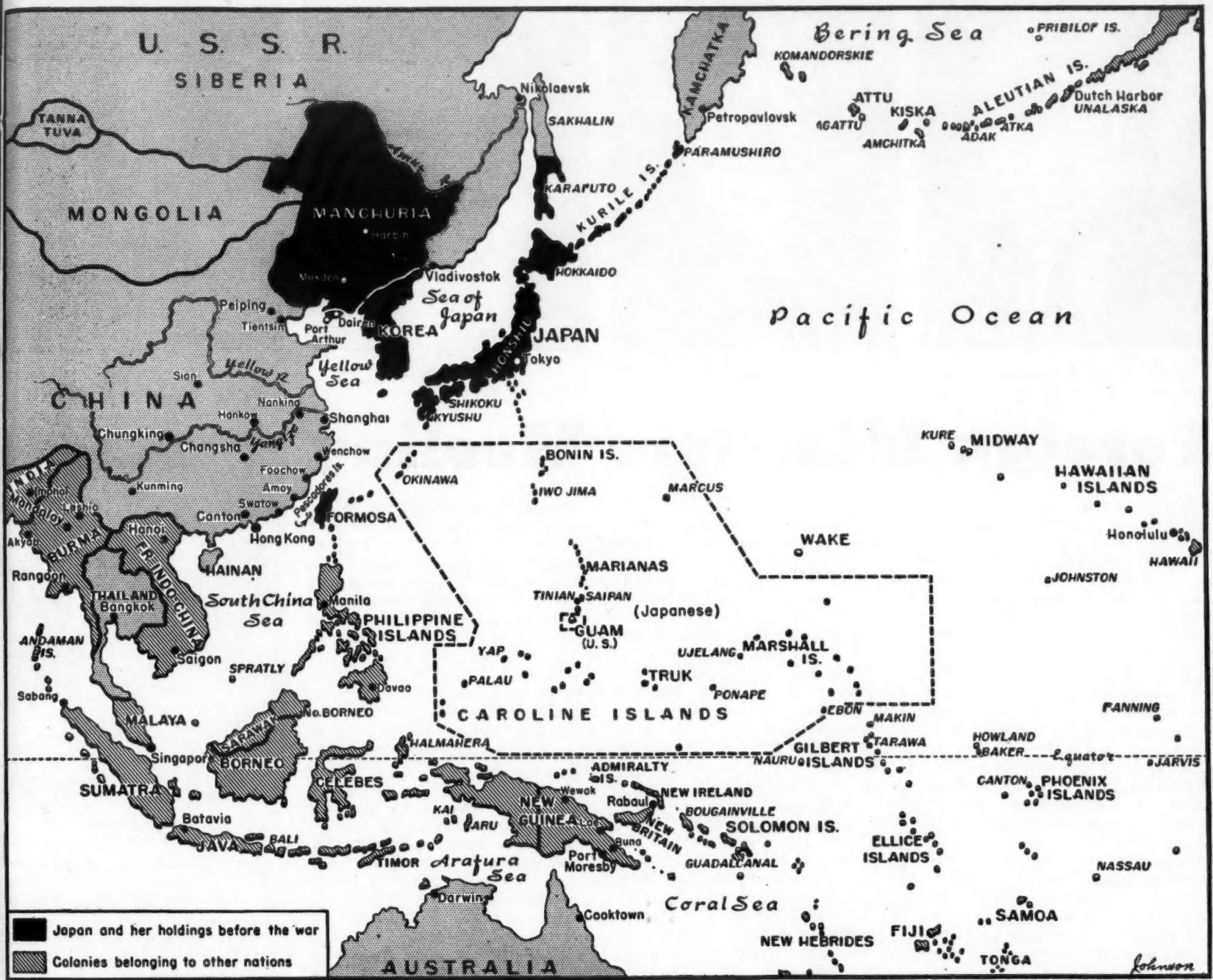
But the uncertainty over Russia's possible territorial demands in Asia is only one of the immediate problems to be solved. The other Allies are known to be seeking readjustments in prewar Far Eastern territorial arrangements. For one thing, the United States has made it clear that it wishes island bases in the Pacific which will insure its future security. President Truman has stated that we do not intend to give up the Pacific islands which we regard as essential to our defense, although our control is to be exercised under the jurisdiction of the United Nations.

Officially, the United States government has not yet made known the bases which it intends to keep. There is abundant evidence, however, to indicate that we wish to retain control

tary, naval, and air bases is not known, although there is strong support for such claims. If this is to be our objective, we may come in conflict with some of our Allies, for most of these islands are possessions of the Australians, British, French, Dutch, and New Zealanders. There is a strong feeling in Congress and throughout the country that we should have permanent control of these bases inasmuch as they were built largely through our efforts after the islands themselves had been liberated from the enemy at terrific cost in life.

But will our Allies accept our claims to these Pacific islands? Will not our claims result in demands on the part of the Russians, the British, and the Chinese for additional territory? Because of the dangerous possibilities of future conflicts over Pacific and Far Eastern territories, it is strongly





## Chronology of War in the Pacific

### 1931

Sept. 18. Japan begins conquest of Manchuria.

### 1934

May 31. Truce ends organized fighting between Japan and China.

### 1937

July 7. Clash of troops near Peiping reopens the war between China and Japan.

July 31. Japan completely occupies the Tientsin-Peiping area of northern China.

Dec. 13. Japanese troops take Nanjing, capital of China.

### 1938

Oct. 25. Hankow, provisional capital of China, taken by Japanese after Chinese government moved to Chungking.

### 1940

Sept. 27. Japan joins Germany and Italy in signing ten-year treaty of mutual assistance making Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis a close working combination. French allow Japanese troops to enter Indo-China.

### 1941

July 25. President Roosevelt orders all Japanese assets in this country frozen.

Dec. 7. Japan opens war in the Pacific by bombing Pearl Harbor, the Philippines, and other American possessions.

Dec. 8. United States declares war on Japan. Resistance ordered ended in Thailand and Japanese take over the country.

Dec. 10. Japanese land on Luzon, Philippine Islands.

Dec. 12. Japanese take Guam.

Dec. 25. Hong Kong surrenders to the Japanese.

### 1942

Jan. 1. Declaration of United Nations signed in Washington uniting 26 nations against the Axis.

Feb. 15. Singapore surrenders to Japanese.

April 9. American and Philippine forces on Bataan surrender.

April 18. U. S. planes under Doolittle bomb Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya, and Kobe.

May 4-8. U. S. naval forces defeat Japanese in Battle of Coral Sea.

May 6. Corregidor surrenders, ending all organized resistance to Japanese in the Philippines.

June 3. Japanese begin operations to capture islands in the Aleutians group.

Aug. 7. U. S. forces begin attack on Japanese on Guadalcanal in Solomon Islands, marking the beginning of Allied offensive in the Pacific.

### 1943

Feb. 1. Allied forces invade Kwajalein in Marshall Islands.

Feb. 9-10. Japanese resistance ends on Guadalcanal.

May 11. American forces attack Japanese on Attu in the Aleutians.

Aug. 15. Allies occupy Kiska, marking the elimination of Japanese in the Aleutians.

Nov. 20. Allied forces establish beachheads on Makin and Tarawa islands in the Gilberts.

Dec. 1. Cairo Declaration by Roosevelt, Chiang Kai-shek, and Churchill demands unconditional surrender of Japan, reaffirms Allied unity in prosecuting war in the Pacific, and warns that Japan will be pushed back to borders existing in 1895.

### 1944

June 14. U. S. forces invade Saipan in Marianas.

June 15. First China-based Superfort raid is made on Japanese homeland.

Aug. 19. Guam retaken.

Sept. 15. U. S. forces land on Palau Islands.

Oct. 20. U. S. invasion of Leyte marks American return to Philippines.

Nov. 24. B-29's raid Tokyo for the first time.

### 1945

Jan. 10. American forces invade Luzon in the Philippines.

Feb. 5. Americans enter Manila.

Feb. 19. U. S. Marines invade Iwo

Jima, Japanese air base 750 miles from Tokyo.

Feb. 25. Japanese garrison in Manila completely destroyed.

April 1. U. S. forces land on Okinawa in the Ryukyus.

April 5. Russia denounces treaty with Japan. General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz named commanders of all Army and Navy forces in the Pacific.

July 5. MacArthur announces complete liberation of Philippine Islands.

July 25. Potsdam Ultimatum issued by Truman and Churchill with approval of Chiang Kai-shek outlining requirements for Japanese surrender and warning Japan of "complete and utter destruction" unless accepted without delay.

Aug. 6. United States announces first atomic bomb dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima.

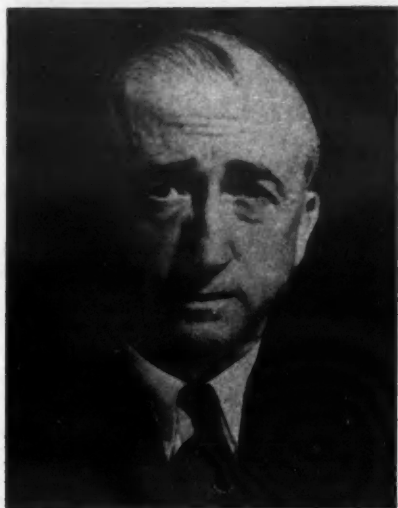
Aug. 8. Russia declares war on Japan, marches into Manchuria.

Aug. 10. Japanese offer to surrender, retaining Emperor Hirohito.

Aug. 11. Allies inform Japanese that Hirohito will be subject to the commander of Allied occupation forces, General Douglas MacArthur.

Aug. 14. Japan notifies Allies she will accept unconditional surrender terms as outlined in the Potsdam Ultimatum.

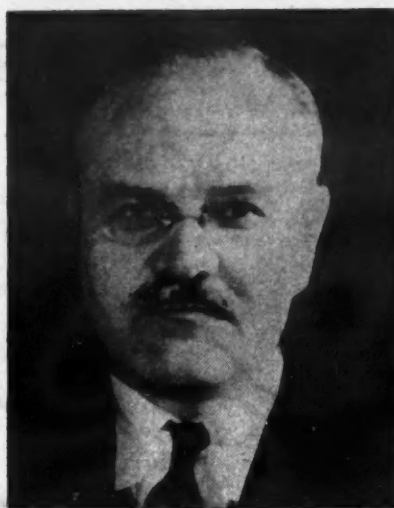




James F. Byrnes  
United States



Ernest Bevin  
Great Britain



Vyacheslav Molotov  
Soviet Union



Wang Shih-chieh  
China

## Foreign Ministers Meeting

ON September 1, in accordance with an agreement reached at Potsdam, the newly formed Council of Foreign Ministers was scheduled to meet in London. This Council is composed of the foreign ministers of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and France. The Council is to hold meetings from time to time and will set up a permanent organization in London.

The purpose of the Big Three in setting up the Council of Foreign Ministers was to provide the machinery by which problems and disputes could be handled as they come up, without awaiting a meeting of the heads of state. While one of the first jobs to be undertaken by the Council will be the drafting of peace treaties for Italy, Romania, Hungary, and Finland, other problems of interest to the Big Five will also be considered.

With the establishment of the Council, the Allies are taking the first step toward the reorganization of peace in Europe. It will be several years before most of the territorial, political, and economic problems confronting the continent have been solved.

Because Italy was the first country to break away from the Axis and to declare war upon Germany, she is to be the first of the enemy countries to be offered a treaty of peace. Of course, the treaty finally drawn up will have to be approved by all the United Nations, but the foreign ministers will draft the preliminary terms.

Whether formal peace in Europe

will be restored by a full-dress peace conference, such as the Paris Peace Conference which drafted the Versailles Treaty of 1919, or whether peace will come gradually, is not known at this time. It may be that the treaties drawn up with Italy, Romania, Hungary, and Finland, and later Germany, will merely be submitted by the Big Five to the other members of the United Nations for their approval. Whatever formula is adopted, the first meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers marks the initial step in the long and arduous process of peacemaking.

In considering terms of peace for Italy, one of the big problems to confront the foreign ministers of the Big Five will be territorial adjustments. It is generally accepted that Italy is to be stripped of her overseas empire, most of which is in Africa. These African colonies include Libya and Tripolitania, in North Africa; Eritrea and Somaliland, in East Africa. Italy has already been obliged to give up Ethiopia, which she conquered in 1936. In addition, she possessed the Dodecanese Islands, lying between Turkey and Greece in the Aegean Sea.

While these overseas possessions of Italy have few resources and are but sparsely populated, they possess considerable strategic value. The Allies realized that during this war when they were obliged to fight costly campaigns in the deserts of North Africa in order to protect the Mediterranean from Axis control.

How these possessions are to be disposed of will be one of the problems to be worked out by the Council of Foreign Ministers. Preliminary discussion of Italy's possessions is said to have taken place at the Potsdam conference, although no agreement was reached. For a time, it was assumed that the Dodecanese Islands would be given to Greece. It is now reported that Russia favors placing these islands under international control. The Russians are also said to favor similar control for certain of the Italian colonies in Africa.

If such disposition is made of the Italian empire, the Russians would have a voice in the government of these strategically located possessions. In this way, it would be impossible for any other power to use them for its exclusive benefit.

In fact, one of Russia's postwar objectives is to acquire free access to the Mediterranean. During the war, she was denied such access because the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus—the straits which join the Black Sea to the Mediterranean—were closed to Russian and other Allied ships. Turkey enjoys the right to prevent the passage of warships and other vessels through the straits. As a result, it was necessary for the Allies to supply the Russians over the much longer route to the Persian Gulf.

For some time, Russia has been putting pressure upon Turkey to remove the restrictions which have been placed upon the passage of ships through the Black Sea straits. The question is said to have been discussed at Potsdam, without agreement. It is likely that Russia's desire to place certain Italian possessions under international control is part of her campaign to gain access to the Mediterranean.

What the position of the United States and Great Britain is on this question is not known. President Truman, upon his return from Potsdam, said that he favored placing Europe's waterways under international control. He specifically mentioned the Black Sea straits, along with the Danube, the Rhine, the Kiel Canal.

The President stated that while no agreement was reached at Potsdam, this matter will be taken up by the Council of Foreign Ministers. He feels that one of the persistent causes of war in Europe is the failure of certain countries to permit free passage of ships of other countries over these waterways.



Georges Bidault  
France

These are but a few of the issues which were left undecided by the Potsdam conference and which must be considered by the Council of Foreign Ministers. There are scores of others which must be settled during the coming months. The redrawing of Europe's boundaries will in itself involve great difficulties, for decisions will have to be reached in as many as 30 different cases.

Four months have now passed since the end of the war in Europe. During this critical period, many disputes have arisen among the Allied victors. Some of them have not yet been settled. But during that period the Big Three have demonstrated a willingness to cooperate and to make compromises to insure the peace. At Potsdam, agreement was reached on what is probably the most difficult and most important of all the European problems; that is, the treatment of Germany during the occupation. The ticklish Polish question has been solved, temporarily at least, by fixing the Polish-Russian border and by giving Poland sections of Germany in the west to compensate for losses in the east. The final determination of Poland's western frontier must await the general settlement, but for the time being friction over this issue has been removed.

It would be unrealistic to deny that all the suspicions among the Big Three have been removed. They have not and are not likely to disappear for some time. There are disputes over the governments of certain countries in eastern Europe and over the policies to be followed in dealing with those countries. But the machinery has been established to handle such disputes and in the months ahead its effectiveness will be tested.



**THE NEW POLAND.** By agreement with Russia, Poland's eastern frontier has been fixed as shown above. Under the Potsdam arrangement, Poland will occupy sections of Germany, as indicated. Her western boundary will be fixed at the general peace settlement.